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OCTOBER 17, 1949

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# The Atomic Bomb and the Future

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S wise act in announcing to the people that Russia now has the bomb brought back to the center of our national consciousness the forebodings that had been somewhat dulled. It is to the credit of both government and people that this announcement was received without signs of panic. Russia's capacity to produce the bomb does not alter the real situation in which we have been living since Hiroshima, but it does cut short a period of seeming security and it may increase the difficulty of helping the non-Communist world to concentrate on the problems of recovery.

The bitter dilemma that we faced when the fact of the atomic bomb first shocked us and that we face today is this: On the one hand, we know that a third world war would probably destroy the centers of population and the institutions of large parts of the world and that it might gravely injure the physical and mental health of future generations; on the other hand, this appalling prospect should not cause this nation or other nations to yield to the blackmail of any power that may threaten to use the bomb. If we could say that the only thing in the world that matters is the prevention of a third world war, our moral problem would be comparatively simple. But, it is our responsibility to work to preserve the peace without clearing the way for any nation or group of nations to use the bomb with impunity to enslave others.

This dilemma makes it essential to adhere to one of two courses. The one on which our hopes must hang chiefly is international control of atomic power with effective guarantees of the right of inspection and with provision for enforceable sanctions against any violators of the international agreement. If that course proves to be impossible, then it is necessary to rely on a balance of atomic power so that it will be clear to all that the bomb cannot be used without too great risk. This second course is tragic and dangerous and, in the long run, can hardly be expected to permit the development of the moral conditions for peace. In the short run it may gain

time until the present conflict that makes agreement through the United Nations impossible may be overcome.

It is probable that the Soviet Union will not risk war. Granted that there is some danger that the rulers in the Kremlin may become reckless because of this new power that the bomb gives them, and that they may push too hard in some part of the world, precipitating a war that they do not want, the more probable interpretation of Russian strategy is the one that sees in it a ruthless and realistic pursuit of objectives by means more consistent with them than war.

The Communist movement has more effective weapons than the atomic bomb. It can win whole nations by promises and propaganda, by waiting for its opponents to lose the confidence of the people, by training a resolute minority to be in the right place at the right time to take over centers of power with a minimum of violence. These methods have the advantage over the atomic bomb of leaving something more than a desert to rule over. Communism is not out to destroy the centers of wealth and civilization associated with capitalism; it is out to inherit them and to use them for the building of a new society.

As soon as it became known that Russia had the bomb, the suggestion was made quite widely that this new situation may actually break the stalemate and make possible agreement in regard to international control. It should dispel the element of fear that may have dominated Russian policy. How real this fear that America would use the bomb in a preventive war was among the top leaders of the Soviet Union is not known, but it would have been natural for them to share this fear in view of their inability to understand the real processes of American democracy. John Gunther in his Behind the Curtain reports that "it is an absolutely major motif throughout eastern Europe . . . that the Communists are frightened sick that America will let loose and attack." (p. 39) Also, the new situation will make it necessary for the United States and the U.N. majority to find a new approach that does not presuppose American monopoly of the bomb. Certainly the next aim of American policy must be to come to an agreement through the United Nations that will reduce the danger of atomic war. It will still be difficult to secure Russia's agreement to any effective form of international inspection because of her policy of keeping her people isolated behind a wall of censorship and propaganda, a policy that basically has nothing to do with the atomic bomb.

Christians may wish that they could find a definitely *Christian* answer to the problem of the atomic bomb. Except for those Christians who identify Christianity with pacifism there seems to be no clear Christian answer. It is the Christian's obligation to strive to prevent a third world war and at the same time it is the Christian's obligation to strive to prevent the atomic bomb from being used in the extension of totalitarianism. How these two obligations are to be reconciled in terms of a particular policy is a matter of judgment concerning which we simply do not have any clear guidance from Christian teaching.

Christian faith and Christian love have had much to do with the elimination of the idea of a preventive war as a moral possibility. Christians should go beyond the repudiation of a preventive war and call upon this nation to make the commitment that it will never be the first to use the bomb. It is one of the most terrible results of Hiroshima that our nation has set the example for all time of using the bomb first. Even though that fact may make it difficult to have any such commitment believed, we still should seek to make it clear that we will never again use the bomb unless we are first attacked by the bomb.

Christians should also help the nation to remember that the present international conflict is not to be understood in terms of black and white, that Russia as a nation has had reasons to distrust us and that Communism as a movement has been able to win so large a part of the world because Christians in the West have been slow to use the claims of social justice upon them. Christians should, therefore, not answer Communist fanaticism with anti-Communist fanaticism. They may thus prevent the chasm that divides humanity from being deepened.

Without cherishing any illusions concerning Communism as a system of power, American Christians should seek, with passion and also with ingenuity, means of reconciliation between the American peo-

ple and the people in other lands, who, because they have suffered so long from poverty and racial discrimination quite naturally are attracted by the Communist promises of social justice and equal dignity for all races. All of this may seem far removed from a solution of the present problem of the atomic bomb, but, in ways beyond our predicting, it may enable the nations to overcome the impasse which makes the bomb so great a threat.

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The most profound difference that Christianity should make to our feeling about the atomic bomb is that it should enable men to live with faith in a world that will never again be as secure as it once thought itself to be, that will always face the possibility that its progress will be wiped out by catastrophe. Our greatest danger may not be that of actual atomic destruction, but rather the danger that humanity may become so obsessed by this fear of destruction that life will be narrowed to the search for security and lose most of its meaning. This is essentially a religious problem; the faith that human history is in the hands of God who in Christ identified himself with men can deliver us from the great fear.—J. C. B.

## Hungarians Ask Religious Instruction

Well over 90 per cent of Hungarian parents have requested religious instruction for their children in the nationalized State schools, according to incomplete returns issued in Budapest.

Under a recent government decree compulsory religious education was abolished and religious instruction placed on an optional basis. Parents were advised they must make their wishes known to school authorities either orally or in writing by September 15.

The Ministry of Cults advised school principals that they were at liberty to extend the deadline to the end of September. In addition, Ministry officials indicated they may change the procedure in the future to require notification only from parents who do not want their children to receive religious education.

The reason for the latter decision appears to be the overwhelming volume of demands by parents requesting religious instruction. Government leaders are reported considerably surprised by the high percentage of parents in favor of religious education for their children.

The church leaders of all faiths had urged parents to register their children for the religious instruction.

Final figures on the total number of parents who have requested religious instruction are expected to be made available early in October. Catholic sources estimate that the percentage in favor of the instruction may be as high as 98.—Religious News Service.

# Peace Through Cultural Cooperation

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Having just returned from the fourth annual conference of UNESCO, the world organization seeking to build world community through international cooperation in science, education and culture, as a member of the American delegation, it may be of some value to our readers to have a report on the work of this great organization.

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The report is that of an outsider who was privileged for several weeks to be completely on the in-I am an outsider in the sense that I have not previously participated in any of the international conferences or in the work of the national commission of UNESCO. My impressions are, therefore, inevitably touched by the naivete of a complete novice. I am probably very much like many readers of this journal who have frequently heard of UNESCO but know little about it. That is our fault, for one cannot accuse the organization of not making itself heard. Its work in America is particularly strong because the American national commission is composed of representatives of all of the great organizations which are concerned with education for international understanding in any of its phases.

It may be well to begin with the place which these national commissions have in the very structure of UNESCO; for that place betrays a genuinely new element in international relations. real work of UNESCO is done by these voluntary organizations in every field of human culture. The over-all organization seeks to bring national groups together on the international level, to break down official and traditional barriers, and to bring the aid of the advanced nations to the support of the weaker nations, particularly in the field of fundamental education. What is new about this whole development is that an organ of government has been invented which is not in the exact sense an organ of government. It seeks to realize the UNESCO slogan of "peoples speaking to peoples" with the aid, rather than despite the intervention, of government. Yet the delegations which represent us at the international conference are official. They are chosen by the President, must be confirmed by the Senate and must follow certain lines of policy as laid down by the department. The total delegation, including both the official delegates and many consultants, chosen from every field of science and culture and public affairs, really represents a cross section of American life.

One might imagine that such an arrangement would lead to confusion. Yet in practice it works

The delegation works on the instrucperfectly. tions which have been handed down by the national commission on the one hand and by the State Department on the other and then arrives at its decisions democratically from day to day. The only questions upon which it has no voice (and even there it is consulted) deal with fiscal policy such as size of budget and the percentage which falls to America. In passing it may be observed that our own country began with a contribution of about 40% of the budget in all international organizations and is trying to bring the percentage down gradually to 30%. In UNESCO it now stands at 37%. I must confess to a considerable pride both in the democratic process in general and in the competence and goodwill of our American officials in particular after seeing our delegation at work. The details of the task are mastered by officials of the Department of State with a diligence which gives the lie to the perennial critics of Washington bureau-The broader problems of UNESCO policy are dealt with by such men as President Milton Eisenhower of Kansas, President Stoddard of Illinois, and Luther Evans, the Librarian of Congress. The whole team is managed by Mr. George Allen, the Assistant Secretary of State, whose modesty, shrewdness and wisdom have gained him the effectionate loyalty and respect of staff and colleagues and of foreign delegations as well. Perhaps all of this is too personal. But I warned at the beginning that my report would be naive. Not many citizens ever get the chance to look behind the impressive portiers of government. The amount of humanity and efficiency found there is really very impressive. Incidentally the UNESCO staff of the State Department has a vocational dedication to the task in which it is engaged which goes beyond any professional concern.

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To come to the conference itself: The two outstanding impressions in my mind after surveying the far flung activities of UNESCO, as outlined at this conference, have to do with the technical efficiency of its work on the one hand, and with its ideological weakness on the other hand. The tasks which UNESCO undertakes in the technical field comprise two primary forms of activity: that of giving help in educational methods and materials and in methods of communication to undeveloped countries, and that of removing various types of barriers to the free flow of communication between

all peoples. This work is wholly admirable. Educational missions to backward regions have provided new standards and methods for school systems; and the technical assistance program seeks to bring technically advanced nations to the assistance of less advanced nations in every field of education and communication. The work dealing with the removal of barriers includes such tasks as working toward more uniform and less restrictive copyright laws in all nations; providing for a greater number of translations of classics in all languages; removing tariffs on all materials used in education: encouraging the exchange of art exhibits and of great orchestras; delving into comparative folklore: encouraging the formation of international organizations in almost every discipline of human culture; and providing for an ever wider system of student and academic exchanges. This catalogue is only a small sample of the projects which are under way in UNESCO in the two fields of assistance to weaker nations and of freeing the lines of communication between all nations.

The problem of our day is how to integrate the world community. Communication does not of itself create community; but there can be no community without communication. One might even maintain that communication does of itself create minimal community, though it must always be recognized that communication may be the bearer of hostility as well as of amity. Insofar as this is the problem, UNESCO is a mighty instrument, mutually used by the nations to make technics the servant of communication as they are already the servants of commerce. It does not guarantee peace. as some enthusiasts for UNESCO assert. Even the more integral community of nations may be rent asunder by specific conflicts. If nations refuse, for instance, to engage in a process of communication as Russia does, there is nothing in the process itself which overcomes the recalcitrance of such a nation.

These impressive achievements are enough to justify the organization. But I would not be truthful if I did not record my conviction of a certain ideological weakness in the organization. But I must add immediately that an organization which must deal with the cultural pluralism of a world community is almost bound to be ideologically weak. The ideological weakness is at least partly explained by the difficulty of finding a spiritual basis for the unity of mankind in a pluralistic world. The former Director General Julian Huxley tried to commit the organization to a kind of synthetic world culture based upon scientific humanism. This explicit attempt was resisted. But implicitly that is where UNESCO still stands ideologically, if it stands anywhere. In a series of three public debates, designed to elucidate these more ultimate problems, in which I had the honor to participate for our delegation, four speakers expressed the conviction that the universality of the natural sciences was the bedrock upon which universal humanism would gradually develop. This is an old illusion, expressed possibly in its most classical form by Comte. It is an illusion because universality of the rational principles underlying science is no antidote to the relativity of cultural viewpoints when one moves from the form to the content of rational propositions. It was interesting to find that confidence in science as a basis of brotherhood, which is sometimes regarded by Europeans as the mark of the immaturity of American culture, should have such a world-wide acceptance.

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Another illusion frequently expressed among delegates is the belief that higher standards of literacy and education or more adequate means of communication are the guarantors of peace. In the opening session, the chairman of the executive board, the Indian Ambassador to Moscow, thought that the unresolved conflict between Russia and the West might be resolved if it were taken out of the hands of politicians and men of culture were asked to resolve it. This proposal assumed that men of culture could be found in Russia who would not represent the political viewpoint of the Russian oligarchy. But the suggestion involves an even more serious mistake which is very dear to the heart of many moderns. It is the belief that the difficulties which statesmen face in guiding their nations are due, not so much to their responsible relation to their several nations, as to their intellectual inferiority in comparison with cultural leaders. This misses the whole point in the encounter of nations with each other. Such an encounter is a power-political one, in which statesmen distinguish themselves from philosophers and scientists, not by their smaller degree of intelligence but by their higher degree of responsibility to their respective communities.

The difficulty with UNESCO on the ideological side is in short that its idealism is informed by a too simple universalism. Its idealists burke at the tragic realities of life: the conflicts of interests which cannot be easily composed; the perils of war which cannot be simply overcome; the power of collective egotism which is not easily sublimated. These weaknesses are a proof of the thesis that the point of conflict between the Christian faith and modern idealism is exactly at the same place where St. Paul found the conflict between the Jewish legalism of his day and his faith: "Thou knowest the law," he said to the legalists of his day, "thou makest a boast of it to God. Thou knowest thou shalt not kill, dost thou not kill?"

It is interesting to note that the men who deal with the actual realities of politics tend to criticize the purposes of UNESCO at precisely the same

point where a Christian would have to criticize it. They think of it as a collection of unrealistic star gazers who are not willing to face the brutal facts of life. This ideological weakness might be corrected. It will, in fact, be corrected by the very realities of contemporary experience which have already dissipated so much of the simple faith of the eighteenth century in the goodness of rational man. But in that case, what will become of the idealism? Will it survive? The spiritual problem of UNESCO is in short the spiritual problem of modern man, who must find a way of engaging in impossible tasks and not be discouraged when he fails to complete any of them.

Spiritually an organization such as UNESCO, as well as the whole modern generation, really needs a faith which recognizes the completion of life within and above its fragmentariness, the final solution beyond all our solutions. It needs, in short, an apprehension of the grace which makes it possible for men to say, "We are perplexed but not unto

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However we must not assume that it would be possible simply to offer UNESCO what we regard as the resources of the Christian faith as the basis of world community. Let us admit that shallow notes in the thought of modern internationalism are almost inevitable consequences of the cultural and religious pluralism of the world community. It must strive desperately after minimal common conceptions of justice or it will be unable to order its common life. But it can certainly not achieve common convictions on the very meaning of life. It will embody in its complex unity for a long time to come, Confucian humanism, Indian pantheism, Mohammedan legalism, and both Marxist and liberal forms of modern secularism. This is an embarrassing situation because the problems which a great international organization faces constantly confront men with the ultimate issues of life. Here is an organization which seeks to realize the impossible: a world community. It must not regard this end as a simple possibility; but neither can it dismiss the task as an It stands, therefore, constantly at impossibility. the final limit of the human situation where the possible and the impossible are curiously intermingled and where it is difficult to distinguish between God's and our possibilities.

In such a situation a Christian who deeply feels the inadequacies of a too simple humanism must nevertheless loyally participate in the practical tasks which must be done. It would be better if they were done without illusion. Yet if some should be driven by utopian illusions to do them they may well be counted more worthy in God's sight than those who have given up both responsibilities and illusions.

It is to be hoped that UNESCO's many seminars on cultural problems will ultimately draw into their studies of basic issues, not merely the only slightly varying thought of philosophers and scientists who, however varied their national background, stand on the common ground of modern secularism, but will be willing to let Christians (both Catholic and Protestant) contribute their own particular insights. The other world religions must of course also be heard. But if modern secularism is not to regard the Christian faith as a simple irrelevance in the great issues which face modern man, Christians must probably take the initiative. We have a duty toward this organization not only to support it in technical fields in which it is strong, but to seek to correct it in the field of theory where it betrays the weaknesses, both of our contemporary culture and of a religiously plural world community, which is tempted to reduce its variety to a shallow lowest common denominator. If "peoples speak to peoples" this communication must finally include debate on the ultimate issues of life and not meaningless agreement on shallow generalities about the unity of man-

# French Jesuit on Religious Liberty

("The Ecumenical Press Service" provides the following summary of an article by Father Robert Rouquette, S.J. We reproduce it because it represents a trend in Roman Catholic thought which is also winning influence in this country, through the work of Father Courtney Murray and others.)

"NEITHER error nor truth can have rights, as such. Only people can have rights," said

Father Rouquette.

"Is it not possible, while denouncing error qua error, to allow the broad right of individuals to seek truth at their own risk, even given the danger of embracing error . . . collectively and sociologically?

"This question once answered, we can go on to touch on another problem—supposing we have an ideal Catholic State, *i.e.*, a state composed of a huge majority of believing Catholics determined to govern according to the Christian social ethic, would it be one of the characteristics of such a state to prevent its citizens from falling into religious error? . . . The answer is not as clear as has sometimes been claimed."

Analyzing the resolution on religious liberty adopted by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at its meeting in Chichester in July, Father Rouquette finds no cause for surprise that the declaration "shows no explicit sympathy for the persecuted Catholic church" A reason for this attitude is the situation of Protestantism in Spain, which is "to a large extent denied the religious freedom" enjoyed by various confessions in most Western states.

"We must realize that the Spaniards are only pushing to their extreme limit a number of principles admitted by the Catholic church in the first half of the nineteenth century and not yet discarded in so many words. On the other hand, in countries where the (Catholic) church is persecuted or outnumbered, Catholics do not hesitate to demand religious freedom in the name of the rights of conscience. We cannot but allow that our attitude is disconcerting for non-Catholics.

"Should we not make our choice between either stating the superior and exclusive rights of revealed truth, in order to request preferential treatment," asks Father Rouquette, "or, if we claim the benefits of this freedom of conscience, applying ourselves to considering it intellectually and to integrating it into our general doctrine of the relations between God and man?...

"There is in fact nothing which so alienates men's minds from Catholicism in the countries with a Protestant majority as this question of the legal intolerance of the explicitly Catholic state. . . . The argument runs, 'That's what would happen here if we allowed the Catholics freedom to develop and the

opportunity of winning a political majority in our democratic states.'

"Legal intolerance appears today as an archaic phenomenon of which only a few examples remain—almost all of them, incidentally, to be found in Protestant countries," comments the Catholic theologian (high official posts closed to Catholics in Scandinavia, impossible for the King of England to be a Catholic, etc.). But even if restrictions imposed on Spanish Protestants have been exaggerated, "their position presents the Catholic conscience with a problem impossible to evade, which entails very serious practical problems, of considerable urgency, for world Catholicism.

"Is it possible to say that a definite stand regarding this question of legal tolerance has been taken by the higher Catholic clergy? . . . Have not the Catholic proponents of political intolerance come, in our time, to an impasse because they dig themselves in upon the principle that truth has rights and error has none?"

Despite the hesitancy of such institutions as the World Council "to display the slightest sympathy for persecuted Catholicism," Father Rouquette concludes that "it is one inspiration and one alone which breathes through Catholicism and the various tendencies represented by the World Council of Churches: Catholicism and ecumenism meet to proclaim with one voice that the activity of the State is likewise subject to the moral law and the judgment of the Church."

# The World Church: News and Notes

# Cardinals' Statement on Communism and Capitalism

A dispatch from Paris in the September 15 New York *Times* reports on the joint letter to French Catholics from Cardinal Lienart, Bishop of Lille; Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Lyon; Cardinal Saliege of Toulouse, and Cardinal Roques of Rennes. Urging Catholics to obey the Communist excommunication decree, the Cardinals also explicitly state that the church still sides with the workers in social conflict. They say:

In condemning the action of Communist parties the church does not take sides in behalf of the capitalist regime. It must indeed be made known that there is in the very notion of capitalism—in the absolute value which capitalism confers upon property without reference to the common welfare and to the dignity of labor—a materialism rejected by Christian teaching.

Whatever may be their rank in society, and their power in the economic life of nations Catholics who by class egotism or attachments to worldly riches are led to oppose any transformation of the social structures are most certainly not in the spirit of Jesus Christ. They are, without suspecting it, accomplices of the enemies of the church and act as providers for the Communist revolution.—Commonweal.

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#### Church and Labor in Quebec

The swing to the left of the French Canadian Roman Catholic Church marks the (Asbestos) strike as a landmark in Canadian affairs. Perhaps a majority of the strikers would have returned to their jobs in meek submission to superior economic strength but for the support of the church. From the outset Father Louis Philippe Camirand, the Asbestos parish priest, was heart and soul for the strikers, and as chaplain of the syndicate he was responsible for the excellent discipline that held the outbreaks of violence to widely separated episodes.

A local cure siding with his flock in a labor dispute was not unheard of, but the statement of the Archbishop of Montreal, "It is the church's duty to intervene," shattered precedent with a crash. Appeals for aid to strikers' families were made from the pulpits, and collections were taken at church doors. Such solidarity galvanized the strikers, and the affair became a life-or-death struggle for the survival of the Catholic labor movement in Quebec. (Prime Minister) Duplessis exerted every influence to have the church alter its stand, even going to the length of withholding provincial grants for social studies from Catholic universities. But bitter experience had convinced the clergy, high and low, that "the church loses all when it loses the working classes."—Miller Stewart in *The Nation*.

## Churchmen Chide British Trade Unions

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British trade unions were chided for the lack of personal responsibility among their members in a report presented to the Fall meeting of the British Council of Churches, held in London.

"Now that the trade unions are called upon to play a more positive part in more constructive ways," the report said, "they find that they themselves are faced with a lack of responsibility among their own membership. We note an absence of more than 80 per cent of members of trade unions from branch and similar meetings, and a comparative lack of interest in education activities."

"This failure to create an industrial democracy will ultimately endanger our political democracy," the report added.

Further criticism of trade unions came from the Rev. Leonard Charles Loveless, Vicar of St. James, Clapton, London, during a "Battle of Britain" service.

Mr. Loveless, a descendant of George Loveless, one of the Tolpuddle martyrs who started the first agricultural union in 1834, charged that trade union leaders "have little more in common with the men they represent than employers."

He urged trade unionists to "restore to the labor movement the moral power, almost amounting to religious fervor, which formerly marked their work."—
Religious News Service.

## Shanghai Missionaries Ask Friendly Relations With China

Seventy American Protestant missionaries resident in Shanghai have signed a petition urging "positive steps" toward restoring normal trade relations between the United States and China. The petition also called for "the continuation of friendly relations between the American and Chinese people."

The petition, which was also signed by 34 other American residents, including business and professional men, was handed to the American Consulate here for transmission to the State Department in Washington.

An accompanying letter described the petition as evidence of a growing sentiment among Americans in Shanghai for action "to establish a sound basis for friendly relations with the new government of China."

Among the missionaries who signed the petition were Bishop Ralph Ward, head of The Methodist Church in the Shanghai area; Episcopal Bishop William P. Roberts of Kiangsu; Dr. Frank Price, of the Church of Christ in China, Margaret Frame, retiring vice-chairman of the China Presbyterian Council; and Ralph Mortensen, of the China Bible Society.—Religious News Service.

## Japan's Christian University

Japan's unprecedented effort to raise funds for a Christian educational enterprise has succeeded. Word has been received from Tokyo that the goal of 150,-000,000 yen for the International Christian University has been exceeded by 2,000,000 yen and that 99% of those contributing were non-Christians.

In commentary on this unique achievement in fundraising, Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, president of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, said the amount contributed was the largest ever raised in Japan for other than a government-backed project. The money came from every prefecture in Japan, he said, and was raised by an organization made up of prominent business and professional men who gave their time and efforts throughout the campaign period.—Bulletin from The Japan International Christian University Foundation, New York.

## Christian Colleges in China

As the Fall semester begins, the twelve colleges in China supported by the United Board for Christian Colleges in China are open and are continuing their basic work of serving the Chinese people. All these institutions, according to a report just made public by the Board, are operating on their home campuses with enrollments totalling approximately 9,000. None reports any drastic changes in personnel or curricula, despite the advent of a new political regime in China.

Ten of the colleges, the report points out, are now in Communist territory, while two—Lingnan University in Canton, and West China Union University in Chengtu—are in areas still controlled by the Nationalist Government.

In some of the colleges, the report states, the study of works by Stalin and Mao Tze-tung has been made compulsory, and Chinese literature has been omitted as a department. However, Western languages and literature are still being taught; and recent cables from these institutions insist that academic freedom is being fully maintained.—Bulletin from United Board for Christian Colleges in China, New York.

#### Statement on Dulles' Resignation

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches at its meeting Sept. 20 accepted the resignation of John Foster Dulles as chairman of the Committee on Policy of the Federal Council's Department of International Justice and Goodwill by adopting the following statement:

"In view of his candidacy for the Senate of the United States, Mr. John Foster Dulles has submitted to the Council his resignation as Chairman of the Committee on Policy of the Department of International

# Christianity and Crisis

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Justice and Goodwill. The Executive Committee, taking into account Mr. Dulles' concern that the Council shall not, through his candidacy, become involved in matters of a partisan political character, regretfully accepts the resignation and requests Bishop William Scarlett, Chairman of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, temporarily to assume the duties of the office previously held by Mr. Dulles. The Executive Committee records its deep appreciation of the distinguished service rendered by Mr. Dulles during the past decade."—NEWS from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

#### Pope Asks Refugee Problem Be Solved

An appeal for "prompt and responsible community action" to end the "blight of peacetime detention camps" was made by Pope Pius XII at an audience to

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a refugee fact-finding committee of American Congressmen.

Warning that the Western world faces grave dangers unless the "agonizing" refugee problem is swiftly solved, the Pope said that the Catholic Church is "doggedly determined to see this giant specter of human dereliction forever banished from the conscience of mankind."

The group, which was winding up a month-long survey of refugee and displaced persons problems in Germany, Austria and Italy, was told by Pope Pius that every nation should "deal vigorously with the last remaining obstacles to full human freedom for our beloved refugees."

"It is too late and too futile merely to be shocked by the problem," the Pontiff declared. "Our prime anxiety touches on the fulfillment of that gravest duty of man to man, nation to nation, which calls for respect for the image of God in even the weakest and most abandoned of his children. No reason of state or pretext of collective advantage can avail to justify the contempt of that human dignity."—Religious News Service.

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## Report 26 Czech Vicars Arrested

Twenty-six Roman Catholic vicars in the diocese of Budejovice and Litomerice were arrested recently on charges of circulating declarations opposing the projected new church control law, according to Catholic sources in Prague. They are said to have been lodged in the Pankrac Prison at Prague pending trial.

One of the vicars is believed to have been accused of carrying on a secret correspondence with Archbishop Joseph Beran of Prague, who has remained in seclusion at his palace since last June.

Another vicar was quoted as saying that he had done nothing except "protest against the church bill because it would have a bad effect on priests, especially young ones, who have given the vow of poverty." The proposed new law provides State payment of all clergymen's salaries.

"For instance," the vicar was quoted, "under the new church bill, I would receive 15,000 crowns (\$300) a month, which is more than I really need. I suggested that they give the money to charity."

Reports of the vicars' arrests coincided with a Vatican broadcast heard here warning the clergy anew that they would be declared "apostate" if they did not oppose the proposed law.

The Catholic sources estimated that the number of priests now under arrest in Bohemia and Moravia alone is nearly 250.

Meanwhile, four Communist "observers" entered a Roman Catholic church in the Sprilov section of Prague during a service and sat is front row seats. As soon as he saw the four men, who all wore Communist badges, the priest announced he would cancel his sermon and ordered that no collection be taken.

-Religious News Service.